

1880

1881

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No.

Vol. 10

1882

1883

1884

1885

1886

1887

1888

1889

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1893

1894

1895

1896

1897

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OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY REGARDING AN ARMISTICE

*Minister of Sweden to the Secretary of State.*¹

LEGATION OF SWEDEN,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,

September 16, 1918.

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to communicate to you the following note addressed by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the Royal Government of Sweden and received by me on this day by telegraph:

Although it was declined by the enemy Powers, the peace proposal made on December 12, 1916, by the four Allied Powers which never desisted from the conciliatory intent that had prompted it, nevertheless, was the beginning of a new phase in the history of this war. From that day the question of peace after two and a half years of fierce struggle suddenly became the main topic of discussion in Europe, nay, in the world, and has been steadily gaining prominence ever since. From that day nearly every belligerent state has repeatedly voiced its opinion on the subject of peace. The discussion, however, was not carried on along the same lines. Viewpoints varied according to the military and political conditions, and so, thus far at least, no tangible or practical result has been achieved. Notwithstanding those fluctuations, a lessening of the distance between the viewpoints of the two parties could be noted though no attempt will be made to deny the great divergences of opinions which divide the two enemy camps and which it has heretofore been impossible to reconcile. One may be, nevertheless, permitted to notice that some of the extreme war aims have been departed from, and that the fundamental basis of a universal peace is to some extent agreed upon. There is no doubt that on either side the desire of the peoples to reach an understanding and bring about peace is becoming more and more manifest. The same impression is created when the manner in which the peace proposal of the four allied Powers was received in the past is compared with the subsequent utterances of their adversaries whether they came from responsible statesmen or from personages holding no office but likewise wielding political influence. By way of illustration confined to a few instances, the Allies in their reply to President Wilson's note advanced claims which meant nothing

¹ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, September 17, 1918.

less than the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, the mutilation and radical changes in the political structure of Germany, and also the annihilation of European Turkey. With time, those terms that could not be enforced without a crushing victory were modified or partly abandoned by some of the official declarations of the Entente.

Thus Mr. Balfour, in the course of last year, plainly declared to the English Parliament that Austria-Hungary was to solve her domestic problems by herself and that Germany could not be given another constitution through foreign influence; Mr. Lloyd George afterward announced, in the beginning of this year, that the Allies were not fighting for the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or to despoil the Ottoman Empire of its Turkish provinces, or, again, to bring internal reforms to Germany. We may also add that in December, 1917, Mr. Balfour categorically repudiated the assumption that British policy had pledged itself to create an independent state including the German territory lying on the left bank of the Rhine. As for the utterances of the Central Powers, they leave no doubt that those states are merely fighting to defend the integrity and safety of their territories. Much greater than in respect to concrete war aims is the evidence that the principles upon which peace could be concluded and a new order of things established in Europe and throughout the world have in a way drawn nearer to one another. On this point President Wilson in his address of February 12, and July 4, 1918, formulated principles that have raised no objection from his Allies and whose wide application will shortly meet with objections from the four allied Powers provided to be general and consistent with the vital interests of the states concerned. To agree upon general principles, however, would not suffice; an agreement should also be reached as to their interpretation and application to the several concrete questions of war and peace.

To an unprejudiced observer there can be no doubt that in all the belligerent states, without exception, the desire for a compromise peace has been enormously strengthened; that the conviction is increasing that the further continuance of the bloody struggle must transform Europe into ruins and into a state of exhaustion that will check its development for decades to come—and this without any guarantee of thereby bringing about the decision by arms which four years of efforts, hardships and immense sacrifices have failed to bring about. Now, by what means, in what manner can the way be paved that will finally lead to such a compromise. Can anyone in earnest expect that goal to be attained by adhering to the method heretofore followed in the discussion of the peace problem? We dare not answer that question in the affirmative. The discussion as conducted until now from one rostrum to another by the statesmen of the several countries was substantially but a series of monologues. It lacked sequence above all. Speeches delivered, arguments expounded by the orators of the opposite parties, received no direct immediate reply. Again, the publicity of those utterances, the places where they were delivered, excluded every possible serviceable result. In such public utterances the eloquence used is of the high-pitched kind which is intended to thrill the masses. Whether intentionally or not, the gap between conflicting ideas is thus widened. Misunderstandings that cannot easily be eradicated spring up, and a simple straightforward exchange of ideas is hampered as soon as mentioned, and even before an official answer can be made by

the adversary every declaration of the statesmen in power is taken up for passionate and immoderate discussion by irresponsible persons, but the statesmen themselves are obsessed by a fear that they may unfavorably influence public opinion in their country and thereby compromise the chances of the war, and also of prematurely disclosing their true intentions. That is why they use thunder-like* speech and persist in upholding unflinching points of view. If, therefore, it were intended to seek the basis for a compromise apt to make an end of the war, whose prolongation would mean nothing but suicide, and to save Europe from that catastrophe, resort should be had in any event to some other method which would permit of continuous and direct converse between the representatives of the governments and between them only. Such an exchange of views would take in the conflicting views of the several belligerent states to the same extent as the general principles on which to build up peace and the relations between states, and might first lead to an understanding as to those principles. The fundamental principles once agreed upon, an effort should be made in the course of the informal negotiations to apply them concretely to the several peace questions and thereby bring about their solution. We indulge the hope that none of the belligerents will object to this proposed exchange of views. There would be no interruption of military operations. The conversation would go no further than deemed useful by the participants; the parties concerned could be put to no disadvantage thereby. The exchange of views, far from doing any harm, could be but beneficial to the cause of peace; what might fail at the first attempt could be tried over again; something will at least have been done toward elucidating the problems. How many are the deep-rooted misunderstandings that might be dispelled! How many the new ideas that would break their way out! Human sentiments so long pent up could burst forth from all hearts, creating a warmer atmosphere while safeguarding every essential point and dispel many a discussion which at this time seems important. We are convinced that it is the duty of all belligerents to mankind to take up together the questions whether there is no way, after so many years of a struggle which, notwithstanding all the sacrifices it has cost, is still undecided and the whole course of which seems to demand a compromise, of bringing this awful war to an end. The Imperial and Royal Government, therefore, comes again to the governments of all the belligerent states with a proposal shortly to send to a neutral country, upon a previous agreement as to the date and place, delegates who would broach a confidential non-binding conversation over the fundamental principles of a peace that could be concluded. The delegates would be commissioned to communicate to one another the views of their respective governments on the aforesaid principles and very freely and frankly interchange information on every point for which provision should be made.

The Imperial and Royal Government has the honor to apply for your kindly good offices and to request that the Royal Government of Sweden kindly communicate the present communication, which is addressed to all the belligerent

* The French text has "donnantes," which is here meaningless; "tonnantes," with the above meaning, was probably the word sent and distorted in transmission.

states simultaneously, to the Government of the United States of America and of Great Britain.

(Signed) BURIAN.

Be pleased to accept, Excellency, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

(Signed) W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency,

MR. ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State of the United States,
etc., etc., etc.

The Secretary of State to the Minister of Sweden.²

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

September 17, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note, dated September 16th, communicating to me a note from the Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary, containing a proposal to the governments of all the belligerent states to send delegates to a confidential and unbinding discussion on the basic principles for the conclusion of peace. Furthermore, it is proposed that the delegates would be charged to make known to one another the conception of their governments regarding these principles and to receive analogous communications, as well as to request and give frank and candid explanations on all those points which need to be precisely defined.

In reply I beg to say that the substance of your communication has been submitted to the President, who now directs me to inform you that the Government of the United States feels that there is only one reply which it can make to the suggestion of the Imperial Austro-Hungarian Government. It has repeatedly and with entire candor stated the terms upon which the United States would consider peace and can and will entertain no proposal for a conference upon a matter concerning which it has made its position and purpose so plain.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. W. A. F. EKENGREN,

Minister of Sweden,

In Charge of Austro-Hungarian Interests.

² *Official U. S. Bulletin*, September 17, 1918.

*Minister of Sweden to the Secretary of State.*³

LEGATION OF SWEDEN,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

(Translation)

October 7, 1918.

EXCELLENCY:

By order of my government I have the honor confidentially to transmit herewith to you the following communication of the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President of the United States of America:

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which has waged war always and solely as a defensive war, and repeatedly given documentary evidence of its readiness to stop the shedding of blood and to arrive at a just and honorable peace, hereby addresses itself to His Lordship the President of the United States of America and offers to conclude with him and his allies an armistice on every front on land, at sea and in the air, and to enter immediately upon negotiations for a peace for which the fourteen points in the message of President Wilson to Congress of January 8, 1918, and the four points contained in President Wilson's address of February 12, 1918, should serve as a foundation and in which the viewpoints declared by President Wilson in his address of September 27, 1918, will also be taken into account.

Be pleased to accept, etc.

(Signed) W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency,

MR. ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington.

*The Secretary of State to the Minister of Sweden.*⁴

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

October 18, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 7th instant in which you transmit a communication of the Imperial

³ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 19, 1918.⁴ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1918.

and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary to the President. I am now instructed by the President to request you to be good enough, through your Government, to convey to the Imperial and Royal Government the following reply:

The President deems it his duty to say to the Austro-Hungarian Government that he cannot entertain the present suggestions of that Government because of certain events of utmost importance which, occurring since the delivery of his address of the 8th of January last, have necessarily altered the attitude and responsibility of the Government of the United States. Among the fourteen terms of peace which the President formulated at that time occurred the following:

"X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States the Government of the United States has recognized that a state of belligerency exists between the Czecho-Slovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires, and that the Czecho-Slovak National Council is a *de facto* belligerent government clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czecho-Slovaks. It has also recognized in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slavs for freedom.

The President is, therefore, no longer at liberty to accept the mere "autonomy" of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.
(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

*The Minister of Sweden to the Secretary of State.*⁵

DEPARTMENT OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN INTERESTS,
LEGATION OF SWEDEN,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 29, 1918.

EXCELLENCY:

By order of my government, I have the honor to beg you to transmit to the President the following communication from the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary:

In reply to the note of the President, Mr. Wilson, to the Austro-Hungarian

⁵ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 31, 1918.

Government, dated October 18 of this year, and about the decision of the President to take up, with Austria-Hungary separately, the question of armistice and peace, the Austro-Hungarian Government has the honor to declare that it adheres both to the previous declarations of the President and his opinion of the rights of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, notably those of the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs, contained in his last note. Austria-Hungary having thereby accepted all the conditions which the President had put upon entering into negotiations on the subject of armistice and peace, nothing, in the opinion of the Austro-Hungarian Government, longer stands in the way of beginning those negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian Government therefore declares itself ready to enter, without waiting for the outcome of other negotiations, into negotiations for a peace between Austria-Hungary and the Entente States, and for an immediate armistice on all the fronts of Austria-Hungary, and begs the President, Mr. Wilson, to take the necessary measures to that effect.

Be pleased to accept, Excellency, the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) W. A. F. EKENGREN.

His Excellency,

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State of the United States,

Washington, D. C.

PROTOCOL OF THE CONDITIONS OF AN ARMISTICE
BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED
POWERS AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.¹

November 3, 1918.

MILITARY CLAUSES

1. The immediate cessation of hostilities by land, sea, and air.
2. Total demobilization of the Austro-Hungarian army and immediate withdrawal of all Austro-Hungarian forces operating on the front from the North Sea to Switzerland.

Within Austro-Hungarian territory, limited as in clause 3 below, there shall only be maintained as an organized military force a maximum of 20 divisions, reduced to pre-war effectives.

Half the divisional, corps, and army artillery and equipment shall be collected at points to be indicated by the allies and United States of America for delivery to them, beginning with all such material as exists in the territories to be evacuated by the Austro-Hungarian forces.

3. Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austria-Hungary since the beginning of war. Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by the commander-in-chief of the allied forces on each front of the Austro-Hungarian armies behind a line fixed as follows: From Piz Umbrail to the north of the Stelvio it will follow the crest of the Rhetian Alps up to the sources of the Adige and the Eisach, passing thence by Mounts Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Ziller; the line thence turns south, crossing Mount Toblach and meeting the present frontier of the Carnic Alps. It follows this frontier up to Mount Tarvis, and after Mount Tarvis the watershed of the Julian Alps by the Col of Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno (Tergloun), and the watershed of the Cols di Podberdo, Podlaniscam and Idria. From this point the line turns southeast toward the Schneeberg, excluding the whole basin of the Save and its tributaries: from the Schneeberg it goes down toward the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia, and Volosca, in the evacuated territories.

¹ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, November 4, 1918 [corrected].

It will also follow the administrative limits of the present Province of Dalmatia, including to the north Lisariga and Trivania and, to the south, territory limited by a line from the shore of Cape Planca to the summits of the watershed eastwards, so as to include in the evacuated area all the valleys and water-courses flowing toward Sebenico, such as the Cicola, Kerka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon Pago and Patadura in the north up to Meleda in the south, embracing Sant Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza, and Lagosta, as well as the neighboring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, only excepting the islands of Great and Small Zirona, Bua, Solta, and Brazza.

All territories thus evacuated will be occupied by the troops of the allies and of the United States of America.

All military and railway equipment of all kinds (including coal), belonging to or within these territories to be left *in situ* and surrendered to the allies according to special orders given by the Commanders-in-Chief of the forces of the Associated Powers on the different fronts. No new destruction, pillage or requisition to be done by enemy troops in territories to be evacuated by them and occupied by the forces of the Associated Powers.

4. The allies shall have the right of free movement over all road and rail and waterways in Austro-Hungarian territory and of the use of the necessary Austrian and Hungarian means of transportation.

The armies of the Associated Powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria-Hungary at such times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or to maintain order.

They shall have the right of requisition on payment for the troops of the Associated Powers wherever they may be.

5. Complete evacuation of all German troops within fifteen days, not only from the Italian and Balkan fronts, but all Austro-Hungarian territory.

Internment of all German troops which have not left Austria-Hungary within that date.

6. The administration of the evacuated territories of Austria-Hungary will be entrusted to the local authorities under the control of the allied and associated armies of occupation.

7. The immediate repatriation without reciprocity of all allied

prisoners of war and interned subjects and of civil populations evacuated from their homes on conditions to be laid down by the commanders-in-chief of the forces of the associated powers on the various fronts.

8. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by Austro-Hungarian personnel who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

NAVAL CONDITIONS

I. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea, and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all Austro-Hungarian ships.

Notification to be made to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

II. Surrender to allies and the United States of America of fifteen Austro-Hungarian submarines, completed between the years 1910 and 1918, and of all German submarines which are in or may hereafter enter Austro-Hungarian territorial waters. All other Austro-Hungarian submarines to be paid off and completely disarmed, and to remain under the supervision of the allies and United States of America.

III. Surrender to the allies and United States, with their complete armament and equipment, of 3 battleships, 3 light cruisers, 9 destroyers, 12 torpedo boats, 1 mine layer, 6 Danube monitors, to be designated by the allies and the United States of America. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in Austro-Hungarian naval bases to be designated by the allies and United States of America, and are to be paid off and completely disarmed and placed under the supervision of allies and United States of America.

IV. Freedom of navigation to all warships and merchant ships of allied and Associated Powers to be given in the Adriatic and up the River Danube and its tributaries in the territorial waters and territory of Austria-Hungary.

The allies and Associated Powers shall have the right to sweep up all mine-fields and obstructions, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

In order to insure the freedom of navigation on the Danube the allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy or to dismantle all fortifications or defense works.

V. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers are to remain unchanged and all Austro-Hungarian merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture, save exceptions which may be made by a commission nominated by the allies and the United States of America.

VI. All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in Austro-Hungarian bases to be designated by the allies and the United States of America.

VII. Evacuation of all the Italian coasts and of all ports occupied by Austria-Hungary outside their national territory, and the abandonment of all floating craft, naval materials, equipment and materials for inland navigation of all kinds.

VIII. Occupation by the allies and the United States of America of the land and sea fortifications and the islands which form the defenses and of the dockyards and arsenal at Pola.

IX. All merchant vessels held by Austria-Hungary belonging to the allies and Associated Powers to be returned.

X. No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

XI. All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and Associated Powers in Austro-Hungarian hands to be returned without reciprocity.

The undersigned plenipotentiaries, duly authorized, declare approved the conditions above indicated.

November 3, 1918.

*Representatives of the Supreme Command of the
Austro-Hungarian Army:*

VICTOR WEBER EDLER VON WEBENAU,
KARL SCHNELLER,
Y. VON LIECHTENSTEIN,
J. V. NYEKHEGYI,
ZWIERKOWSKI,
VICTOR FREIHERR VON SEILLER,
KAMILLO RUGGERA.

Representatives of the Supreme Command of the Italian Army:

Ten. Gen. PIETRO BADOGLIO,
Magg. Gen. SCIPIONE SCIPIONI,
Colonn. TULLIO MARCHETTI,
Colonn. PIETRO GAZZERA,
Colonn. PIETRO MARAVIGNA,
Colonn. ALBERTO PARIANI,
Cap. Vasc. FRANCESCO ACCINNI.

ANNEX.

Protocol containing the details and the clauses of execution of certain points of the Armistice between the Allied and Associated Powers and Austria-Hungary.

(Not printed.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
GERMANY REGARDING AN ARMISTICE

*Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland to President Wilson*¹

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
GERMAN INTERESTS
MR. PRESIDENT:

October 6, 1918.

I have the honor to transmit herewith, upon instructions from my government, the original text of a communication from the German Government, received by this Legation late this afternoon, from the Swiss Foreign Office.

An English translation of this communication is also enclosed. The German original text, however, is alone to be considered as authoritative.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) F. OEDERLIN,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland,
In charge of German interests in the
United States.

MR. WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Washington.

(Enclosure)

Translation of communication from the German Government to the President of the United States, as transmitted by the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland, on October 6, 1918:

The German Government requests the President of the United

¹ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 9, 1918.

States of America to take steps for the restoration of peace, to notify all belligerents of this request, and to invite them to delegate plenipotentiaries for the purpose of taking up negotiations. The German Government accepts, as a basis for the peace negotiations, the program laid down by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of January 8, 1918, and in his subsequent pronouncements, particularly in his address of September 27, 1918. In order to avoid further bloodshed the German Government requests to bring about the immediate conclusion of a general armistice on land, on water, and in the air.

MAX, PRINCE OF BADEN,
Imperial Chancellor.

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland.*²

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

October 8, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge, on behalf of the President, your note of October 6th, enclosing a communication from the German Government to the President; and I am instructed by the President to request you to make the following communication to the Imperial German Chancellor:

Before making reply to the request of the Imperial German Government, and in order that that reply shall be as candid and straightforward as the momentous interests involved require, the President of the United States deems it necessary to assure himself of the exact meaning of the note of the Imperial Chancellor. Does the Imperial Chancellor mean that the Imperial German Government accepts the terms laid down by the President in his address to the Congress of the United States on the eighth of January last and in subsequent addresses, and that its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon the practical details of their application?

The President feels bound to say with regard to the suggestion of an armistice that he would not feel at liberty to propose a cessation of arms to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated against the Central Powers so long as the armies of those Powers are upon their soil. The good faith of any discussion would manifestly depend upon the consent of the Central Powers immediately to withdraw their forces everywhere from invaded territory.

The President also feels that he is justified in asking whether the Imperial Chancellor is speaking merely for the constituted authorities of the Empire

² *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 9, 1918.

who have so far conducted the war. He deems the answers to these questions vital from every point of view.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. FREDERICK OEDERLIN,

Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland ad interim,

In charge of German interests in the United States.

Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland to the Secretary of State.³

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
GERMAN INTERESTS.

October 14, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit herewith, upon instructions from my government, the original text, received this morning, of a communication from the German Government to the President of the United States, in reply to his communication to the Imperial German Chancellor, transmitted to me by Your Excellency on October 8, 1918.

I beg herewith also to enclose the English translation of this communication, as transmitted by the German Legation in Berne to the Swiss Foreign Office.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) F. OEDERLIN,

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland.

In charge of German interests in the
United States.

His Excellency,

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State.

(Enclosure)

Translation of the reply from the German Government to the communication of October 8, 1918, of the President of the United States transmitted by the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland to the Secretary of State on October 14, 1918:

In reply to the question of the President of the United States of America the German Government hereby declares:

The German Government has accepted the terms laid down by

³ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 15, 1918.

President Wilson in his address of January the eighth and in his subsequent addresses as the foundations of a permanent peace of justice. Consequently, its object in entering into discussions would be only to agree upon practical details of the application of these terms.

The German Government believes that the governments of the Powers associated with the United States also accept the position taken by President Wilson in his addresses.

The German Government, in accordance with the Austro-Hungarian Government for the purpose of bringing about an armistice, declares itself ready to comply with the propositions of the President in regard to evacuation.

The German Government suggests that the President may occasion the meeting of a mixed commission for making the necessary arrangements concerning the evacuation.

The present German Government which has undertaken the responsibility for this step towards peace has been formed by conferences and in agreement with the great majority of the Reichstag. The chancellor, supported in all of his actions by the will of this majority, speaks in the name of the German Government and of the German people.

SOLF,

State Secretary of Foreign Office.

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland.*⁴

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

October 14, 1918.

SIR:

In reply to the communication of the German Government, dated the 12th instant, which you handed me today, I have the honor to request you to transmit the following answer:

The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on the eighth of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of the eighth and twelfth of October, 1918.

It must be clearly understood that the process of evacuation and the conditions of an armistice are matters which must be left to the judgment and advice of the military advisers of the Government of the United States and the Allied

⁴ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 15, 1918.

Governments, and the President feels it his duty to say that no arrangement can be accepted by the Government of the United States which does not provide absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and of the Allies in the field. He feels confident that he can safely assume that this will also be the judgment and decision of the Allied Governments.

The President feels that it is also his duty to add that neither the Government of the United States nor, he is quite sure, the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent will consent to consider an armistice so long as the armed forces of Germany continue the illegal and inhumane practices which they still persist in. At the very time that the German Government approaches the Government of the United States with proposals of peace its submarines are engaged in sinking passenger ships at sea, and not the ships alone but the very boats in which their passengers and crews seek to make their way to safety; and in their present enforced withdrawal from Flanders and France the German armies are pursuing a course of wanton destruction which has always been regarded as in direct violation of the rules and practices of civilized warfare. Cities and villages, if not destroyed, are being stripped of all they contain, not only but often of their very inhabitants. The nations associated against Germany cannot be expected to agree to a cessation of arms while acts of inhumanity, spoliation, and desolation are being continued which they justly look upon with horror and with burning hearts.

It is necessary, also, in order that there may be no possibility of misunderstanding, that the President should very solemnly call the attention of the Government of Germany to the language and plain intent of one of the terms of peace which the German Government has now accepted. It is contained in the address of the President delivered at Mount Vernon on the fourth of July last. It is as follows: "The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at least its reduction to virtual impotency." The power which has hitherto controlled the German nation is of the sort here described. It is within the choice of the German nation to alter it. The President's words just quoted naturally constitute a condition precedent to peace, if peace is to come by the action of the German people themselves. The President feels bound to say that the whole process of peace will, in his judgment, depend upon the definiteness and the satisfactory character of the guarantees which can be given in this fundamental matter. It is indispensable that the governments associated against Germany should know beyond a peradventure with whom they are dealing.

The President will make a separate reply to the Royal and Imperial Government of Austria-Hungary.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. FREDERICK OEDERLIN,

Chargé d' Affaires of Switzerland ad interim,

In charge of German interests in the United States.

*Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland to the Secretary of State.*⁵

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
GERMAN INTERESTS.

October 22, 1918.

SIR:

By direction of my government, I have the honor to transmit herewith to Your Excellency the original German text of a communication dated October 20, 1918, from the German Government, which has today been received from the Swiss Foreign Office. I beg to also enclose an English translation of the communication in question as transmitted to the Swiss Foreign Office by the German Government with the request that it be forwarded to Your Excellency's Government.

Please accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) F. OEDERLIN,

Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland.

His Excellency,

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State,
Washington.

(Enclosure)

Translation issued by the German Government of its communication dated October 20, 1918, transmitted to the Secretary of State by the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland on October 22, 1918:

In accepting the proposal for an evacuation of the occupied territories the German Government has started from the assumption that the procedure of this evacuation and of the conditions of an armistice should be left to the judgment of the military advisers and that the actual standard of power on both sides in the field has to form the basis for arrangements safeguarding and guaranteeing this standard. The German Government suggests to the President to bring about an opportunity for fixing the details. It trusts that the President of the United States will approve of no demand which would be irreconcilable with the honor of the German people and with opening a way to a peace of justice.

The German Government protests against the reproach of illegal and inhumane actions made against the German land and sea forces

⁵ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 23, 1918.

and thereby against the German people. For the covering of a retreat, destructions will always be necessary and are in so far permitted by international law. The German troops are under the strictest instructions to spare private property and to exercise care for the population to the best of their ability. Where transgressions occur in spite of these instructions the guilty are being punished.

The German Government further denies that the German Navy in sinking ships has ever purposely destroyed lifeboats with their passengers. The German Government proposes with regard to all these charges that the facts be cleared up by neutral commissions. In order to avoid anything that might hamper the work of peace, the German Government has caused orders to be despatched to all submarine commanders precluding the torpedoing of passenger ships, without, however, for technical reasons, being able to guarantee that these orders will reach every single submarine at sea before its return.

As the fundamental conditions for peace, the President characterizes the destruction of every arbitrary power that can separately, secretly and of its own single choice disturb the peace of the world. To this the German Government replies: Hitherto the representation of the people in the German Empire has not been endowed with an influence on the formation of the government. The Constitution did not provide for a concurrence of the representation of the people in decision on peace and war. These conditions have just now undergone a fundamental change. The new government has been formed in complete accord with the wishes of the representation of the people, based on the equal, universal, secret, direct franchise. The leaders of the great parties of the Reichstag are members of this government. In future no government can take or continue in office without possessing the confidence of the majority of the Reichstag. The responsibility of the Chancellor of the Empire to the representation of the people is being legally developed and safeguarded. The first act of the new government has been to lay before the Reichstag a bill to alter the Constitution of the Empire so that the consent of the representation of the people is required for decisions on war and peace. The permanence of the new system is, however, guaranteed not only by constitutional safeguards, but also by the unshakable determination of the German people, whose vast majority stands behind these reforms and demands their energetic continuance.

The question of the President, with whom he and the governments associated against Germany are dealing, is therefore answered in a clear and unequivocal manner by the statement that the offer of peace and an armistice has come from a government which, free from arbitrary and irresponsible influence, is supported by the approval of the overwhelming majority of the German people.

(Signed) SOLF,

State Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

BERLIN, October 20, 1918.

*The Secretary of State to the Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland.*⁶

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

October 23, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the twenty-second transmitting a communication under date of the twentieth from the German Government and to advise you that the President has instructed me to reply thereto as follows:

Having received the solemn and explicit assurance of the German Government that it unreservedly accepts the terms of peace laid down in his address to the Congress of the United States on the eighth of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses, particularly the address of the twenty-seventh of September, and that it desires to discuss the details of their application, and that this wish and purpose emanate, not from those who have hitherto dictated German policy and conducted the present war on Germany's behalf, but from ministers who speak for the majority of the Reichstag and for an overwhelming majority of the German people; and having received also the explicit promise of the present German Government that the humane rules of civilized warfare will be observed both on land and sea by the German armed forces, the President of the United States feels that he cannot decline to take up with the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated the question of an armistice.

He deems it his duty to say again, however, that the only armistice he would feel justified in submitting for consideration would be one which should leave the United States and the powers associated with her in a position to enforce any arrangements that may be entered into and to make a renewal of hostilities on the part of Germany impossible. The President has, therefore, transmitted his correspondence with the present German authorities to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those governments are disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as will fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and insure to the associated governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government has agreed, provided they deem such an armistice possible from the military point of view. Should such terms of armistice be suggested, their acceptance by Germany will afford the best concrete evidence of her unequivocal acceptance of the terms and principles of peace from which the whole action proceeds.

⁶ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 24, 1918.

The President would deem himself lacking in candor did he not point out in the frankest possible terms the reason why extraordinary safeguards must be demanded. Significant and important as the constitutional changes seem to be which are spoken of by the German Foreign Secretary in his note of the twentieth of October, it does not appear that the principle of a government responsible to the German people has yet been fully worked out or that any guarantees either exist or are in contemplation that the alterations of principle and of practice now partially agreed upon will be permanent. Moreover, it does not appear that the heart of the present difficulty has been reached. It may be that future wars have been brought under the control of the German people, but the present war has not been; and it is with the present war that we are dealing. It is evident that the German people have no means of commanding the acquiescence of the military authorities of the Empire in the popular will; that the power of the King of Prussia to control the policy of the Empire is unimpaired; that the determining initiative still remains with those who have hitherto been the masters of Germany. Feeling that the whole peace of the world depends now on plain speaking and straightforward action, the President deems it his duty to say, without any attempt to soften what may seem harsh words, that the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy, and to point out once more that in concluding peace and attempting to undo the infinite injuries and injustices of this war the Government of the United States cannot deal with any but veritable representatives of the German people who have been assured of a genuine constitutional standing as the real rulers of Germany. If it must deal with the military masters and the monarchical autocrats of Germany now, or if it is likely to have to deal with them later in regard to the international obligations of the German Empire, it must demand, not peace negotiations, but surrender. Nothing can be gained by leaving this essential thing unsaid.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. FREDERICK OEDERLIN,

Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland ad interim,

In charge of German interests in the United States.

*Chargé d'Affaires of Switzerland to the Secretary of State.*¹

LEGATION OF SWITZERLAND,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF
GERMAN INTERESTS.

October 28, 1918.

SIR:

I am instructed by my government and have the honor to submit to Your Excellency the original German text of a communication from the German Government, dated October 27, 1918, which has today been received from the Swiss Foreign Office.

I beg leave also to enclose an English translation of the above-mentioned communication, the German text of which, however, is alone to be considered as authoritative.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

F. OEDERLIN,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland.

His Excellency,

MR. ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington.

Translation of a communication from the German Government, dated October 27, 1918, as transmitted by the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of Switzerland on October 28, 1918:

The German Government has taken cognizance of the reply of the President of the United States. The President knows the far-reaching changes which have taken place and are being carried out in the German constitutional structure. The peace negotiations are being conducted by a government of the people, in whose hands rests, both actually and constitutionally, the authority to make decisions. The military powers are also subject to this authority. The German Government now awaits the proposals for an armistice, which is the first step toward a peace of justice, as described by the President in his pronouncements.

(Signed) SOLF,
State Secretary of Foreign Affairs,
BERLIN, October 27, 1918.

¹ *Official U. S. Bulletin*, October 29, 1918.

The Secretary of State to the Minister of Switzerland.^a

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

November 5, 1918.

SIR:

I have the honor to request you to transmit the following communication to the German Government:

In my note of October 23, 1918, I advised you that the President had transmitted his correspondence with the German authorities to the governments with which the Government of the United States is associated as a belligerent, with the suggestion that, if those governments were disposed to effect peace upon the terms and principles indicated, their military advisers and the military advisers of the United States be asked to submit to the governments associated against Germany the necessary terms of such an armistice as would fully protect the interests of the peoples involved and ensure to the associated governments the unrestricted power to safeguard and enforce the details of the peace to which the German Government had agreed, provided they deemed such an armistice possible from the military point of view.

The President is now in receipt of a memorandum of observations by the Allied Governments on this correspondence, which is as follows:

"The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. They must point out, however, that clause two relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference.

"Further, in the conditions of peace, laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed. The Allied Governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air."

I am instructed by the President to say that he is in agreement with the interpretation set forth in the last paragraph of the memorandum above quoted.

^a *Official U. S. Bulletin*, November 6, 1918.

I am further instructed by the President to request you to notify the German Government that Marshal Foch has been authorized by the Government of the United States and the Allied Governments to receive properly accredited representatives of the German Government, and to communicate to them terms of an armistice.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

MR. HANS SULZER,

Minister of Switzerland,

In charge of German interests in the United States.

CONDITIONS OF AN ARMISTICE WITH GERMANY.¹

Signed November 11, 1918.

(Translation.)

BETWEEN Marshal Foch, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, acting on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, in conjunction with Admiral Wemyss, First Sea Lord, of the one part; and Secretary of State Erzberger, President of the German Delegation, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary Count von Oberndorff, Major-General von Winterfeldt, Captain Vanselow (German Navy), furnished with full powers in due form and acting with the approval of the German Chancellor, of the other part;

An Armistice has been concluded on the following conditions:—

CONDITIONS OF THE ARMISTICE CONCLUDED WITH GERMANY.

(A.) *On the Western Front.*

1. Cessation of hostilities on land and in the air six hours after the signature of the Armistice.

2. Immediate evacuation of the invaded countries:— Belgium, France, Luxemburg, as well as Alsace-Lorraine, so ordered as to be completed within fifteen days from the signature of the Armistice. German troops which have not evacuated the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will be made prisoners of war. Joint occupation by the Allied and United States forces shall keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation or occupation shall be regulated in accordance with a Note (Annexe No. 1), drawn up at the time of signature of the Armistice.

3. Repatriation, beginning at once, to be completed within fifteen days, of all inhabitants of the countries above enumerated (including hostages, persons under trial, or convicted).

¹ Miscellaneous Parliamentary Publications, No. 25 (1918).

4. Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following war material:—

5,000 guns (2,500 heavy, 2,500 field).

25,000 machine-guns.

3,000 trench mortars.

1,700 fighting and bombing aeroplanes—in the first place, all D 7's and all night-bombing aeroplanes.

The above to be delivered *in situ* to the Allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in Annexe 1, drawn up at the time of signature of the Armistice.

5. Evacuation by the German armies of the territories on the left bank of the Rhine. These territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local authorities under the control of the Allied and United States armies of occupation. The occupation of these territories shall be carried out by Allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mainz, Coblenz, Cologne), together with bridgeheads, at these points, of a 30 kilometre radius on the right bank, and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of each area. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine between the river and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the river, and at a distance of 10 kilometres from the Dutch to the Swiss frontier. Evacuation by the enemy of the Rhineland (left and right banks), shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days—thirty-one days in all after the signature of the Armistice. All movements of evacuation and occupation shall be regulated according to Annexe 1, drawn up at the time of signature of the Armistice.

6. In all the territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or detriment shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for participation in military measures prior to the signature of the Armistice. No destruction of any kind to be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be handed over intact, as well as military stores, food, munitions and equipment not removed during the periods fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, &c., shall be left *in situ*. No measure of a general or official character shall be adopted which may result in a depreciation of industrial establishments or in a reduction of their personnel.

7. Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs and telephones shall be in no way damaged. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall be maintained. 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good running order, and provided with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the Associated Powers within the period fixed by Annexe No. 2, which shall not exceed thirty-one days. 5,000 motor lorries in good running order shall also be handed over within thirty-six days.

The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within thirty-one days, together with all personnel and material belonging directly to these lines. Further, material necessary for the working of railways in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left *in situ*. All stores of coal and material for upkeep of permanent way, signals, and repair-shops, shall be left *in situ* and maintained by Germany as far as the working of these lines on the left bank of the Rhine is concerned. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. The note appended as Annexe No. 1 regulates all details under this head.

8. The German Command shall be bound to disclose, within 48 hours after the signature of the Armistice, all mines or delay action apparatus disposed on the territory evacuated by the German troops, and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. The German Command shall also disclose all harmful measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or pollution of springs, wells, &c.). All the foregoing under penalty of reprisals.

9. The right of requisition shall be exercised by the Allied and United States Armies in all occupied territories, settlement of accounts with the persons concerned being provided for. The maintenance of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be defrayed by the German Government.

10. Immediate repatriation, without reciprocity, of all Allied and United States prisoners of war (including those under trial or convicted), according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed. The Allied Powers and the United States shall dispose of these prisoners as they think fit. This condition cancels previous agreements on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, including the agreement of July, 1918, in course of ratification. The repatriation of German prisoners interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall, however,

continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners shall be settled upon the conclusion of the peace preliminaries.

11. Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from territory evacuated by the German armies shall be cared for by German personnel, to be left on the spot with the material required.

(B.)—*Clauses relating to the Eastern Frontiers of Germany.*

12. All German troops at present in any territory which before the war belonged to Austria-Hungary, Roumania, or Turkey, must at once withdraw within the frontiers of Germany as these existed on August 1, 1914. All German troops at present in territories which before the war formed part of Russia shall likewise withdraw within the German frontiers as above defined, as soon as the Allies shall consider this desirable, having regard to the interior conditions of those territories.

13. Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilian or military agents now within Russian territory (as defined on August 1, 1914), to be recalled.

14. German troops to cease at once all requisitions, seizures, or coercive measures for obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Roumania and Russia (according to frontiers existing on August 1, 1914).

15. Annulment of the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of supplementary treaties.

16. The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their Eastern frontier, either viâ Danzig or by the Vistula, in order to revictual the populations of those territories or to maintain order.

(C.)—*In East Africa.*

17. Evacuation of all German forces operating in East Africa within a period fixed by the Allies.

(D.)—*General Clauses.*

18. Repatriation within a maximum period of one month, without reciprocity, in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed, of all interned civilians, including hostages, and persons under

trial or convicted, who may be nationals of the Allied or Associated States other than those mentioned in clause 3.

19. *Financial Clauses.*—With the reservation that any future claims and demands of the Allies and United States shall remain unaffected, the following financial conditions are required:—

Reparation for damage done.

While the Armistice lasts, no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a guarantee to the Allies for the recovery of reparation for war losses.

Immediate restitution of cash deposits in the National Bank of Belgium, and, in general, immediate return of all documents, specie, and securities of every kind (together with plant for the issue thereof) affecting public or private interests in the invaded countries.

Restitution of the Russian and Roumanian gold removed by the Germans or handed over to them. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

(E.)—*Naval Conditions.*

20. Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea, and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to Neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

21. Release, without reciprocity, of all prisoners of war in German hands belonging to the navies and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers.

22. Surrender to the Allies and the United States of all existing submarines (including all submarine cruisers and mine-layers) with armament and equipment complete, in ports specified by the Allies and the United States. Those which cannot put to sea shall be paid off and disarmed, and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States. Submarines which are ready to put to sea shall be prepared to leave German ports as soon as orders are received by wireless for them to proceed to the port of surrender, and the rest shall follow as soon as possible. The conditions of this clause shall be fulfilled within fourteen days after the signature of the Armistice.

23. The following German surface warships, which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States, shall forthwith be disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports, or, failing these, in Allied ports designated by the Allies and the United States, and there placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States, only guards being left on board, namely:—

6 battle cruisers.

10 battleships.

8 light cruisers, including two mine-layers.

50 destroyers of the most modern types.

All other surface warships (including river craft) shall be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States, completely disarmed, and there placed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. All vessels of the auxiliary fleet shall be disarmed. All vessels selected for internment shall be ready to leave German ports seven days after the signature of the armistice. Sailing orders shall be given by wireless.

24. The Allies and the United States shall have the right to sweep all mine-fields and destroy all obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters. The position of such mine-fields and obstructions is to be indicated.

25. Freedom of access to and egress from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the Allied and Associated Powers; to secure this the Allies and the United States shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defense works of all kinds in all the channels from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep and destroy all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters. The plans and exact positions of the above shall be furnished by Germany, who may not raise any question of neutrality.

26. The existing blockade conditions set up by the Allied and Associated Powers shall remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships met at sea shall remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany, during the armistice, to such extent as shall be found necessary.

27. All aircraft shall be concentrated and immobilized in German bases specified by the Allied Powers and the United States.

28. In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports, Germany shall leave *in situ* and intact all harbor material and material for inland

navigation, all merchant craft, tugs, and barges; all naval aircraft, equipment, and stores, together with all armament, equipment, and stores of every description.

29. All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; Russian warships of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States; all neutral merchant ships seized are to be released; war and other material of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned, and German material as specified in clause 28 is to be abandoned.

30. All merchant ships now in German hands belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers shall be restored, without reciprocity, in ports specified by the Allies and the United States.

31. No destruction of ships or of material to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

32. The German Government shall formally notify all neutral Governments, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions imposed on the trading of their vessels with the Allied and Associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials or not, are immediately cancelled.

33. No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after the signature of the Armistice.

(F.)—*Duration of the Armistice.*

34. The duration of the Armistice shall be thirty-six days, with option to extend.

During such period the Armistice may, owing to non-execution of any of the above clauses, be denounced by one of the contracting parties, who shall give forty-eight hours' notice of its intention to that effect. It is agreed that the Armistice shall not be denounced owing to non-sufficient execution of the stipulations of clauses 3 and 18 within the time-limits specified, except in the case of intentional negligence in execution. To insure the adequate fulfilment of the present agreement, the principle of a Permanent International Armistice Commission is admitted. This Commission shall work under the high authority of the military and naval Command-in-Chief of the Allied forces.

This Armistice was signed on the 11th November, 1918, at 5 A.M. (French time).

(Signed)

F. FOCH.
R. E. WEMYSS.

ERZBERGER.
OBERNDORFF.
WINTERFELDT.
VANSELOW.

Addendum.

The Allied Representatives declare that, owing to recent events, it appears necessary to them that the following condition should be added to the clauses of the armistice:—

“In the event of the German vessels not being handed over within the periods specified, the Allied and United States Governments shall have the right to occupy Heligoland so as to insure the surrender of the vessels.”

(Signed)

R. E. WEMYSS, *Admiral.*

F. FOCH.

The German delegates state that they will transmit this declaration to the German Chancellor, with the recommendation that it should be accepted, together with the reasons upon which this demand on the part of the Allies is based.

(Signed) ERZBERGER.
WINTERFELDT.
OBERNDORFF.
VANSELOW.

(Translation.)

ANNEX No. 1.

I.—*The Evacuation of the Invaded Territories of Belgium, France, and Luxemburg, as well as of Alsace-Lorraine,*

Shall be carried out in three successive stages under the following conditions:—

1st Stage.—Evacuation of the territory situated between the present front and line No. 1 as shown on the attached map, to be completed within five days after the signature of the armistice.

2d Stage.—Evacuation of the territory situated between line No. 1

and line No. 2, to be completed within four further days (nine days in all after the signature of the armistice).

3d Stage.—Evacuation of the territory situated between line No. 2 and line No. 3, to be completed within six further days (fifteen days in all after the signature of the armistice).

Troops of the Allies and of the United States shall enter these different zones on the expiration of the periods allowed to the German troops for their evacuation. Thus the present German front line will be crossed by the Allied troops as from the sixth day following the signature of the armistice, line No. 1 as from the tenth day, and line No. 2 as from the sixteenth day.

II.—*Evacuation of the Rhine Lands.*

This evacuation shall also be carried out in several successive stages, viz. :—

1st Stage.—Evacuation of the territories situated between line 2, line 3, and line 4 to be completed within four further days (nineteen days in all after the signature of the armistice).

2d Stage.—Evacuation of the territory situated between line 4 and line 5 to be completed within four further days (twenty-three days in all after the signature of the armistice).

3d Stage.—Evacuation of the territory situated between line 5 and line 6 (line of the Rhine) to be completed within four further days (twenty-seven days in all after the signature of the armistice).

4th Stage.—Evacuation of the bridgeheads and of the neutral zone on the right bank of the Rhine to be completed within four further days (thirty-one days in all after the signature of the armistice).

The armies of occupation of the Allies and the United States shall enter these different zones on the expiration of the period allowed to the German troops for the evacuation of each zone; thus line No. 3 shall be crossed by them as from the twentieth day following the signature of the Armistice; line No. 4 shall be crossed by them as from the twenty-fourth day following the signature of the Armistice; line No. 5 as from the twenty-eighth day; and line No. 6 (Rhine) as from the thirty-second day, for the occupation of the bridgeheads.

III.—*Surrender by the German Armies of the War Material fixed by the Armistice Conditions.*

This war material shall be handed over in the following manner: The first half before the tenth day, the second half before the twentieth day. This material shall be handed over to each Allied and United States Army by each tactical group of the German army in proportions to be laid down by the Permanent Armistice Commission.

(Translation.)

ANNEX No. 2.

Conditions relating to the means of Communication (railways, waterways, roads, river harbors, seaports, telegraphs and telephones).

1. All means of communication up to and including the Rhine, or included on the right bank of that river within the bridgeheads occupied by the Allied armies, shall be placed under the full and complete control of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, who shall have the right to take any steps which he may judge necessary in order to insure their occupation and use. All documents relating to the means of communication shall be held in readiness to be delivered to him.

2. All the material and all civil and military personnel at present employed for the upkeep and use of the means of communication will be maintained *in toto* on these communications throughout the territory evacuated by the German troops.

Any additional material necessary for the maintenance of these lines of communication in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine shall be furnished by the German Government throughout the duration of the armistice.

3. *Personnel.*—The French and Belgian personnel belonging to the communication services, whether interned or not, shall be returned to the French or Belgian Armies within fifteen days of the signature of the Armistice. The personnel directly employed on the Alsace-Lorraine railway system shall be retained or shall return to their posts in order to keep these railways running.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies shall have the right

to change or replace any of the personnel of the communication services as he may think fit.

4. *Material*.—

(a) *Rolling-Stock*.—The rolling-stock handed over to the Allied Armies in the zone between the front line and line No. 3 (not including Alsace-Lorraine) shall amount to at least 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 wagons. Delivery of this rolling-stock shall be carried out within the periods fixed by clause 7 of the Armistice, and under the detailed conditions to be settled by the Permanent International Armistice Commission.

All this rolling-stock shall be in a good state of repair and in running order, and provided with all usual spare parts or accessories. It shall be used (with its own or any other personnel) at any point of the railway system of the Allied Armies.

The rolling-stock directly employed on the railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be retained *in situ* or returned to the French Army.

The material to be left *in situ* in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, as well as within the bridgeheads, must allow of normal traffic being maintained on the lines in these areas.

(b) *Permanent-way, Signals, and Workshop Plant*.—The signaling apparatus, machinery and tools removed from the workshops and depôts of the French and Belgian railways shall be replaced in accordance with detailed conditions to be settled by the Permanent International Armistice Commission. The permanent-way material, rails, appurtenances, apparatus, bridging material, and timber necessary for repairing the destroyed lines beyond the present front shall be supplied to the Allied Armies.

(c) *Fuel and Materials for Upkeep*.—During the period of the Armistice, fuel and materials for upkeep shall be supplied by the German Government to the depôts normally serving the traffic in the territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

5. *Telegraphic and Telephonic Communications*.—All telegraph and telephone lines and fixed wireless stations shall be surrendered to the Allied Armies with all the civil and military personnel and all equipment, including all stores existing on the left bank of the Rhine.

All additional stores necessary for the maintenance of traffic shall be supplied by the German Government during the period of the Armistice, as and when required.

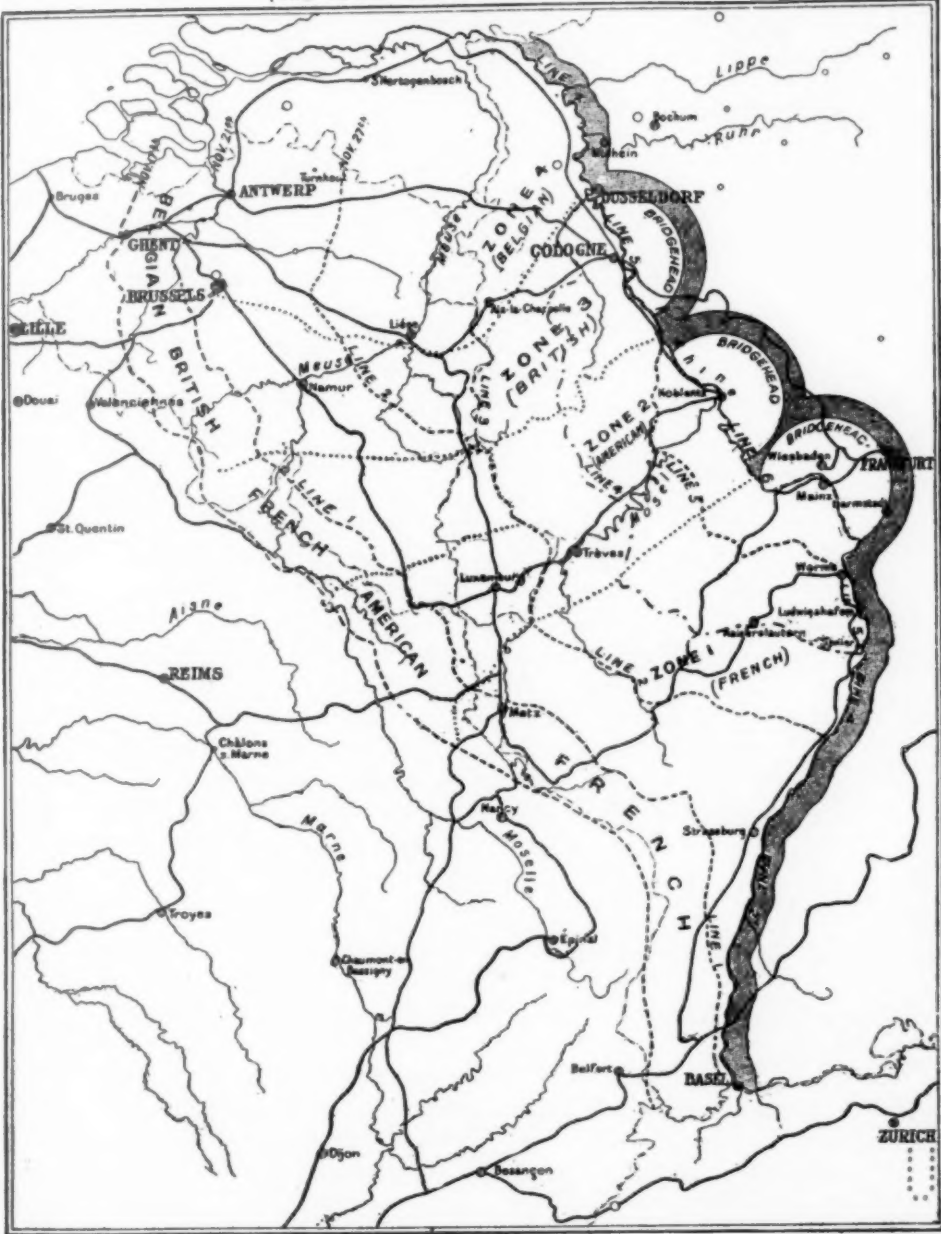
The Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies shall assume military control of this system, guarantee its organization, and replace or change any of the personnel as he may think fit.

He shall return to the German Army all the military personnel which he does not consider necessary for the working and maintenance of the system.

All plans of the German telegraph and telephone systems shall be handed over to the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies.

This map illustrates the military zones and lines during the Battle of France. Key features include:

- Cities and Towns:** Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Reims, Châlons, Troyes, Metz, Nancy, Strasbourg, Belfort, Besançon, Dijon, Lyon, and Zurich.
- Military Zones:**
 - Zone A (Belgian):** Located in the north, near Antwerp and Brussels.
 - Zone 3 (British):** Located in the center, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Zone 2 (American):** Located in the center, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Zone 1 (French):** Located in the south, near Strasbourg and Belfort.
- Lines:**
 - Line 1:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 2:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 3:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 4:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 5:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 6:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 7:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 8:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 9:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
 - Line 10:** A dashed line running from the north to the south, near Metz and Nancy.
- Other Features:**
 - Maginot Line:** A thick, dark line running along the French border.
 - Siegfried Line:** A thick, dark line running along the German border.
 - British Forces:** Indicated by a large 'B' in the north.
 - French Forces:** Indicated by a large 'F' in the south.
 - American Forces:** Indicated by a large 'A' in the center.



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RULES OF THE PRELIMINARY PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS, 1919

I

The Conference summoned with a view to lay down the conditions of peace, in the first place by peace preliminaries and later by a definitive Treaty of Peace, shall include the representatives of the Allied or Associated belligerent Powers.

The belligerent Powers with general interests (the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan) shall attend all sessions and commissions.

The belligerent Powers with special interests (Belgium, Brazil, the British Dominions and India, China, Cuba, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serbia, Siam, and the Czecho-Slovak Republic) shall attend sessions at which questions concerning them are discussed.

Powers having broken off diplomatic relations with the enemy Powers (Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay) shall attend sessions at which questions interesting them will be discussed.

Neutral Powers and States in process of formation shall, on being summoned by the Powers with general interests, be heard, either orally or in writing, at sessions devoted especially to the examination of questions in which they are directly concerned, and only in so far as those questions are concerned.

II

The Powers shall be represented by Plenipotentiary Delegates to the number of—

Five for the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan;

Three for Belgium, Brazil, Serbia;

Two for China, Greece, the Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Siam, and the Czecho-Slovak Republic;

One for Cuba, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama;

One for Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.

The British Dominions and India shall be represented as follows:

Two Delegates each for Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India (including the native states);

One Delegate for New Zealand.

Each Delegation shall be entitled to set up a panel, but the number of Plenipotentiaries shall not exceed the figures given above.

The representatives of the Dominions (including Newfoundland) and of India can, moreover, be included in the representation of the British Empire by means of the panel system.

Montenegro shall be represented by one Delegate, but the manner of his appointment shall not be decided until the present political situation of that country becomes clear.

The conditions governing the representation of Russia shall be settled by the Conference when Russian affairs come up for discussion.

III

Each Delegation of Plenipotentiaries may be accompanied by duly accredited Technical Delegates and by two shorthand writers.

The Technical Delegates may attend sessions in order to supply information when called upon. They may be asked to speak in order to give necessary explanations.

IV

The order of precedence shall follow the alphabetical order of the Powers in French.

V

The Conference shall be opened by the President of the French Republic. The President of the French Council of Ministers shall thereupon provisionally take the chair.

The credentials of members present shall at once be examined by a committee composed of one Plenipotentiary for each of the Allied or Associated Powers.

VI

At the first meeting the permanent President and four Vice-Presidents shall be elected from among the Plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers in alphabetical order.

VII

A Secretariat, chosen outside the ranks of the Plenipotentiaries, consisting of one representative each of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, shall be submitted for the approval of the Conference by the President, who shall be in control of and responsible for it.

VIII

Publicity shall be given to the proceedings by means of official *communiqués* prepared by the Secretariat and made public. In case of disagreement as to the wording of such *communiqués*, the matter shall be referred to the chief Plenipotentiaries or their representatives.

IX

All documents to be incorporated in the protocols must be supplied in writing by the Plenipotentiaries originally responsible for them.

No document or proposal may be so supplied except by a Plenipotentiary or in his name.

X

With a view to facilitate discussion any Plenipotentiary wishing to propose a resolution must give the President twenty-four hours' notice thereof, except in the case of proposals connected with the order of the day and arising from the actual discussion.

Exceptions may, however, be made to this rule in the case of amendments or secondary questions which do not constitute actual proposals.

XI

All petitions, memoranda, observations and documents addressed to the Conference by any persons other than the Plenipotentiaries must be received and classified by the Secretariat.

Such of these communications as are of political interest shall be briefly summarized in a list circulated to all the Plenipotentiaries. Supplementary editions of this list shall be issued as such communications are received.

All these documents shall be deposited in the archives.

XII

All questions to be decided shall be discussed at a first and second reading; the former shall afford occasion for a general discussion for the purpose of arriving at an agreement on points of principle; the second reading shall provide an opportunity of discussing details.

XIII

The Plenipotentiaries shall be entitled, subject to the approval of the Conference, to authorize their Technical Delegates to submit direct any technical explanations considered desirable regarding any particular question.

If the Conference shall think fit, the study of any particular question from the technical point of view may be entrusted to a Committee composed of Technical Delegates, who shall be instructed to present a report and suggest solutions.

XIV

The Protocols drawn up by the Secretariat shall be printed and circulated in proof to the Delegates with the least possible delay.

To save time, this circulation of the protocols in advance shall take the place of reading them at the beginning of the sessions. Should no alterations be demanded by the Plenipotentiaries, the text shall be considered as approved and deposited in the archives.

Should any alterations be called for, it shall be read aloud by the President at the beginning of the following session.

The whole of the protocol shall, however, be read if one of the Plenipotentiary members shall so request.

XV

A Committee shall be formed to draft the motions adopted.

This Committee shall deal only with questions which have been decided; its sole task shall be to draw up the text of the decisions adopted and to present them to the Conference for approval.

It shall consist of five members who shall not be Plenipotentiary Delegates and shall comprise one representative each of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan.

COVENANT REPORTED BY THE COMMISSION ON THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT
PARIS, IN PLENARY SESSION, FEBRUARY 14, 1919

PREAMBLE

In order to promote international co-operation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this Covenant adopt this constitution of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I

The action of the High Contracting Parties under the terms of this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of meetings of a Body of Delegates representing the High Contracting Parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international Secretariat to be established at the Seat of the League.

ARTICLE II

Meetings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the Body of Delegates shall be held at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be found convenient and shall consist of representatives of the High Contracting Parties. Each of the High Contracting Parties shall have one vote but may have not more than three representatives.

ARTICLE III

The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the Body of Delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require and at least once a year at whatever place may be decided on, or failing any such decision, at the Seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the Council at which matters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Power unless so invited.

ARTICLE IV

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters shall be regulated by the Body of Delegates or the Executive Council and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Body of Delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE V

The permanent Secretariat of the League shall be established at which shall constitute the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary-General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council; the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VI

Representatives of the High Contracting Parties and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials or by representatives attending its meetings shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

ARTICLE VII

Admission to the League of States not signatories to the Covenant and not named in the Protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the Covenant requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the Body of Delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including Dominions and Colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

ARTICLE VIII

The High Contracting Parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State; and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The High Contracting Parties agree that the manufacture by

private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The High Contracting Parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to war-like purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programmes.

ARTICLE IX

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X

The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the High Contracting Parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the High Contracting Parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the High Contracting Parties to draw the attention of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII

The High Contracting Parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy, they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council; and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this Article, the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. For this purpose the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any Convention existing between them. The High Contracting Parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award, the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV

The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice and this Court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing Article.

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between States members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbi-

tration as above, the High Contracting Parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the Council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the Council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the Council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the Council other than the parties to the dispute, the High Contracting Parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendation and that, if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose the measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. If no such unanimous report can be made, it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements indicating what they believe to be the facts and containing the recommendations which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Body of Delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In any case referred to the Body of Delegates all the provisions of this Article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Body of Delegates.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any of the High Contracting Parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII, it shall thereby *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of

the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The High Contracting Parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the High Contracting Parties who are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of disputes between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the High Contracting Parties agree that the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and taking any action against a State member of the League which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a

breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that the League shall be entrusted with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

ARTICLE XIX

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandataries on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave-trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory state, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory state as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory state shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory State shall, if not previously agreed upon by the High Contracting Parties, in each case be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special Act or Charter.

The High Contracting Parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a Mandatory Commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all Mandates.

ARTICLE XX

The High Contracting Parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent Bureau of Labor.

ARTICLE XXI

The High Contracting Parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

ARTICLE XXII

The High Contracting Parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such international bureaux to be constituted in future shall be placed under the control of the League.

ARTICLE XXIII

The High Contracting Parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary-General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XXIV

It shall be the right of the Body of Delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and of international conditions, of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XXV

The High Contracting Parties severally agree that the present Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this Covenant,

have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the Body of Delegates.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON UPON REPORTING THE COVENANT AT THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE, APRIL 28, 1919.¹

MR. PRESIDENT: When the text of the covenant of the league of nations was last laid before you I had the honor of reading the covenant in extenso. I will not detain you to-day to read the covenant as it has now been altered, but will merely take the liberty of explaining to you some of the alterations that have been made.

The report of the committee has been circulated. You yourselves have in hand the text of the covenant and will no doubt have noticed that most of the changes that have been made are mere changes of phraseology, no changes of substance, and that, besides that, most of the changes are intended to clarify the document or, rather, to make explicit what we all have assumed was implicit in the document as it was originally presented to you. But I shall take the liberty of calling your attention to the new features, such as they are. Some of them are considerable, the rest trivial.

The first paragraph of article 1 is new. In view of the insertion of the covenant in the peace treaty specific provision as to the signatories of the treaty, who would become members of the league, and also as to neutral states to be invited to accede to the covenant, were obviously necessary. The paragraph also provides for the method by which a neutral state may accede to the covenant.

The third paragraph of article 1 is new, providing for the withdrawal of any member of the league on a notice given of two years.

The second paragraph of article 4 is new, providing for a possible increase in the council should other powers be added to the league of nations whose present accession is not anticipated.

The last two paragraphs of article 4 are new, providing specifically for one vote for each member of the league in the council, which was understood before, and providing also for one representative of each member of the league.

The first paragraph of article 5 is new, expressly incorporating the

¹ Senate Doc. No. 7, 66th Congress, 1st session.

provision as to the unanimity of voting, which was at first taken for granted.

The second paragraph of article 6 has had added to it that a majority of the assembly must approve the appointment of the secretary general.

The first paragraph of article 7 names Geneva as the seat of the league, and is followed by a second paragraph which gives the council power to establish the seat of the league elsewhere should it subsequently deem it necessary.

The third paragraph of article 7 is new, establishing equality of employment of men and women; that is to say, by the league.

The second paragraph of article 13 is new, inasmuch as it undertakes to give instances of disputes which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration, instances of what have latterly been called "justiciable" questions.

The eighth paragraph of article 15 is new. This is the amendment regarding domestic jurisdiction, that where the council finds that a question arising out of an international dispute affects matters which are clearly under the domestic jurisdiction of one or other of the parties, it is to report to that effect and make no recommendation.

The last paragraph of article 16 is new, providing for an expulsion from the league in certain extraordinary circumstances.

Article 21 is new.

The second paragraph of article 22 inserts the words with regard to mandatories, "and who are willing to accept it," thus explicitly introducing the principle that a mandate can not be forced upon a nation unwilling to accept it.

Article 23 is a combination of several former articles and also contains the following: A clause providing for the just treatment of aborigines; a clause looking toward a prevention of the white slave traffic and the traffic in opium; and a clause looking toward progress in international prevention and control of disease.

Article 25 specifically mentions the Red Cross as one of the international organizations which are to connect their work with the work of the league.

Article 26 permits the amendment of the covenant by a majority of the States composing the assembly, instead of three-fourths of the States, though it does not change the requirement in that matter with regard to the vote in the council.

The second paragraph of article 26 is also new and was added at the request of the Brazilian delegation, in order to avoid certain constitutional difficulties. It permits any member of the league to dissent from an amendment, the effect of such dissent being withdrawal from the league.

And the annex is added giving the names of the signatories of the treaty, who become members, and the names of the States invited to accede to the covenant. These are all the changes, I believe, which are of moment.

Mr. President, I take the opportunity to move the following resolutions in order to carry out the provisions of the covenant. You will notice that the covenant provides that the first secretary-general shall be chosen by this conference. It also provides that the first choice of the four member States who are to be added to the five great powers on the council is left to this conference.

I move, therefore, that the first secretary-general of the council shall be the Hon. Sir James Eric Drummond, and, second, that until such time as the assembly shall have selected the first four members of the league to be represented on the council in accordance with article 4 of the covenant, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain shall be members; and, third, that the powers to be represented on the council of the league of nations are required to name representatives who shall form a committee of nine to prepare plans for the organization of the league and for the establishment of the seat of the league and to make arrangements and to prepare the agenda for the first meeting of the assembly, this committee to report both to the council and to the assembly of the league.

I think it not necessary to direct your attention to other matters we have previously discussed—the capital significance of this covenant, the hopes which are entertained as to the effect it will have upon steadying the affairs of the world, and the obvious necessity that there should be a concert of the free nations of the world to maintain justice in international relations, the relations between people and between the nations of the world.

If Baron Makino will pardon me for introducing a matter which I absent-mindedly overlooked, it is necessary for me to propose the alteration of several words in the first line of article 5. Let me say that in several parts of the treaty, of which this covenant will form a part, certain duties are assigned to the council of the league of nations.

In some instances it is provided that the action they shall take shall be by a majority vote. It is, therefore, necessary to make the covenant conform with the other portions of the treaty by adding these words. I will read the first line and add the words:

"Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the assembly or of the council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting.

"Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant," is the present reading, and I move the addition "or by the terms of this treaty." With that addition, I move the adoption of the covenant.

COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ADOPTED
BY THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PLENARY SESSION,
APRIL 28, 1919

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the High Contracting Parties agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE I

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE II

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE III

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE IV

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece, Spain shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE V

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant, or this Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE VI

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the Members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

ARTICLE VII

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE VIII

The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

ARTICLE IX

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I and VIII and on military and naval questions generally.

ARTICLE X

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression

the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE XI

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on the request of any Member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE XII

The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE XIII

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration.

For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitra-

tion to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE XIV

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE XV

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this Article and of Article XII relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE XVI

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII, XIII or XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to

the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

ARTICLE XVII

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII to XVI inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and

shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE XVIII

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE XIX

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE XX

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE XXI

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE XXII

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave-trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of

the Mandatary, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatary as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatary shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatary shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandataries and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

ARTICLE XXIII

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League

- (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;
- (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;
- (c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;
- (d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;
- (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devas-

tated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

- (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE XXIV

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE XXV

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE XXVI

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

ANNEX TO THE COVENANT

1. *Original Members of the League of Nations
Signatories of the Treaty of Peace*

United States of America	Cuba	Liberia
Belgium	Czecho-Slovakia	Nicaragua
Bolivia	Ecuador	Panama
Brazil	France	Peru
British Empire	Greece	Poland
Canada	Guatemala	Portugal
Australia	Haiti	Roumania
South Africa	Hedjaz	Serbia
New Zealand	Honduras	Siam
India	Italy	Uruguay
China	Japan	

States Invited to Accede to the Covenant

Argentine Republic	Norway	Sweden
Chile	Paraguay	Switzerland
Colombia	Persia	Venezuela
Denmark	Salvador	
Netherlands	Spain	

2. *First Secretary General of the League of Nations*

Sir James Eric Drummond

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
FRANCE PROVIDING FOR RECIPROCAL
MILITARY SERVICE ¹

*Signed at Washington, September 3, 1918;
ratifications exchanged, November 8, 1918.*

The President of the United States of America and the President of the French Republic, being convinced that for the better prosecution of the present war it is desirable that American citizens in France and citizens of France in the United States shall either return to their own country to perform military service in its army or shall serve in the army of the country in which they remain, have resolved to enter into a Convention to that end and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries the President of the United States of America, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, and the President of the French Republic, J. J. Jusserand, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States, who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers found to be in proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

All male citizens of the United States in France and all male citizens of France in the United States shall, unless before the time limited by this Convention they enlist or enroll in the forces of their own country or return to the United States or France, respectively, for the purpose of military service, be subject to military service and entitled to exemption or discharge therefrom under the laws and regulations from time to time in force, of the country in which they are: *Provided*, that in respect to citizens of the United States in France, the ages for military service shall be the ages specified in the laws of the United States prescribing compulsory military service, and in respect to citizens of France in the United States

¹ Treaty Series No. 636.

the ages for military service shall be for the time being twenty to forty-four years, both inclusive.

ARTICLE II

Citizens of the United States and citizens of France within the age limits aforesaid who desire to enter the military service of their own country must enlist or enroll or must leave France or the United States as the case may be for the purpose of military service in their own country before the expiration of sixty days after the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, if liable to military service in the country in which they are at said date; or if not so liable, then before the expiration of thirty days after the time when liability shall accrue; or as to those holding certificates of exemption under Article III of this Convention, before the expiration of thirty days after the date on which any such certificate becomes inoperative unless sooner renewed; or as to those who apply for certificates of exemption under Article III, and whose applications are refused, then before the expiration of thirty days after the date of such refusal, unless the application be sooner granted.

ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States and the Government of the French Republic may, through their respective diplomatic representatives, issue certificates of exemption from military service to citizens of the United States in France and citizens of France in the United States, respectively, upon application or otherwise, within sixty days from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention or within thirty days from the date when such citizens become liable to military service in accordance with Article I: *Provided*, that the applications be made or the certificates be granted prior to their entry into the military service of either country. Such certificates may be special or general, temporary or conditional, and may be modified, renewed, or revoked in the discretion of the government granting them. Persons holding such certificates shall, so long as the certificates are in force, not be liable to military service in the country in which they are.

ARTICLE IV

The Government of the United States and the Government of the French Republic will, respectively, so far as possible, facilitate the return of citizens of France and of the United States who may desire to return to their own country for military service, but shall not be responsible for providing transport or the cost of transport for such persons.

ARTICLE V

No citizen of either country who, under the provisions of this Convention, enters the military service of the other shall, by reason of such service, be considered, after this Convention shall have expired or after his discharge, to have lost his nationality or to be under any allegiance to the United States or to France, as the case may be.

ARTICLE VI

The present Convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of the French Republic, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at Paris as soon as possible. It shall come into operation on the date on which the ratifications are exchanged and shall remain in force until the expiration of sixty days after either of the contracting parties shall have given notice of termination to the other. Whereupon, any citizen of either country incorporated into the military service of the other under this Convention shall be as soon as possible discharged therefrom.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

DONE in duplicate at Washington, the 3rd day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

ROBERT LANSING

[SEAL.]

JUSSERAND

[SEAL.]

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
GREECE PROVIDING FOR RECIPROCAL
MILITARY SERVICE ¹

*Signed at Washington, August 30/17, 1918;
ratifications exchanged November 12, 1918.*

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, being convinced that for the better prosecution of the present war it is desirable that citizens of the United States in Greece and citizens of Greece in the United States shall either return to their own country to perform military service in its Army or shall serve in the Army of the country in which they remain, have resolved to enter into a convention to that end, and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries,

The President of the United States, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States; and

His Majesty the King of the Hellenes, Mr. Georges Roussos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Greece to the United States,

who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles:

ARTICLE I

All male citizens of the United States in Greece and all male citizens of Greece in the United States shall, unless before the time limited by this Convention they enlist or enroll in the forces of their own country or return to the United States or Greece, respectively, for the purpose of military service, be subject to military service and entitled to exemption or discharge therefrom under the laws and regulations from time to time in force of the country in which they are: *Provided*, That in respect to citizens of the United States in Greece the ages for military service shall be the ages specified in the

¹ Treaty Series, No. 638.

laws of the United States prescribing compulsory military service, and in respect to citizens of Greece in the United States the ages for military service shall be for the time being twenty to forty-four years, both inclusive.

ARTICLE II

Citizens of the United States and citizens of Greece within the age limits aforesaid who desire to enter the military service of their own country must enlist or enroll or must leave Greece or the United States, as the case may be, for the purpose of military service in their own country before the expiration of sixty days after the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, if liable to military service in the country in which they are at the said date; or if not so liable, then before the expiration of thirty days after the time when liability shall accrue; or as to those holding certificates of exemption under Article III of this Convention, before the expiration of thirty days after the date on which any such certificate becomes inoperative unless sooner renewed; or as to those who apply for certificates of exemption under Article III and whose applications are refused, then before the expiration of thirty days after the date of such refusal, unless the application be sooner granted.

ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States and the Government of Greece may, through their respective diplomatic representatives, issue certificates of exemption from military service to citizens of the United States in Greece and citizens of Greece in the United States, respectively, upon application or otherwise, within sixty days from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, or within thirty days from the date when such citizens become liable to military service in accordance with Article I, provided that the applications be made or the certificates be granted prior to their entry into the military service of either country.

Such certificates may be special or general, temporary or conditional, and may be modified, renewed, or revoked in the discretion of the Government granting them. Persons holding such certificates shall, so long as the certificates are in force, not be liable to military service in the country in which they are.

ARTICLE IV

The Government of the United States and the Government of Greece will, respectively, so far as possible, facilitate the return of citizens of Greece and citizens of the United States who may desire to return to their own country for military service, but shall not be responsible for providing transport or the cost of transport for such persons.

ARTICLE V

No citizen of either country who, under the provisions of this convention, enters the military service of the other shall, by reason of such service, be considered after this Convention shall have expired or after his discharge to have lost his nationality or to be under any allegiance to His Majesty the King of the Hellenes or to the United States, as the case may be.

ARTICLE VI

The present Convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States and by His Majesty, the King of the Hellenes, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at Athens as soon as possible. It shall come into operation on the date on which the ratifications are exchanged and shall remain in force until the expiration of sixty days after either of the contracting parties shall have given notice of termination to the other; whereupon any citizen of either country incorporated into the military service of the other under this Convention shall be as soon as possible discharged therefrom.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington the $\frac{30\text{th}}{17\text{th}}$ day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

[SEAL.]

ROBERT LANSING.

[SEAL.]

G. ROUSSOS.

CONVENTION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND
ITALY PROVIDING FOR RECIPROCAL
MILITARY SERVICE¹

*Signed at Washington, August 24, 1918;
ratifications exchanged November 12, 1918.*

The President of the United States of America and His Majesty the King of Italy, being convinced that for the better prosecution of the present war it is desirable that citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian citizens in the United States shall either return to their own country to perform military service in its army or shall serve in the army of the country in which they remain, have resolved to enter into a Convention to that end, and have accordingly appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States of America, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, and

His Majesty the King of Italy, Count Vincenzo Macchi di Cellere, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States,

who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found to be in proper form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:

ARTICLE I

All male citizens of the United States in Italy and all male citizens of Italy in the United States shall, unless before the time limited by this Convention they enlist or enroll in the forces of their own country or return to the United States or Italy, respectively, for the purpose of military service, be subject to military service and entitled to exemption or discharge therefrom under the laws and regulations from time to time in force of the country in which they are: *Provided*, that in respect to citizens of the United States in Italy the ages for military service shall be the ages specified in the laws of the United States prescribing compulsory military service, and in

¹ Treaty Series, No. 637.

respect to Italian citizens in the United States the ages for military service shall be for the time being twenty to forty-four years, both inclusive.

ARTICLE II

Citizens of the United States and Italian citizens within the age limits aforesaid who desire to enter the military service of their own country must enlist or enroll or must leave Italy or the United States, as the case may be, for the purpose of military service in their own country, before the expiration of sixty days after the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention, if liable to military service in the country in which they are at said date; or if not so liable, then, before the expiration of thirty days after the time when liability shall accrue; or, as to those holding certificates of exemption under Article III of this Convention, before the expiration of thirty days after the date on which any such certificate becomes inoperative unless sooner renewed; or, as to those who apply for certificates of exemption under Article III, and whose applications are refused, then before the expiration of thirty days after the date of such refusal, unless the application be sooner granted.

ARTICLE III

The Government of the United States and the Government of Italy may, through their respective diplomatic representatives or by other authorities appointed for that purpose by the respective Governments, issue certificates of exemption from military service to citizens of the United States in Italy and Italian citizens in the United States, respectively, upon application or otherwise, within sixty days from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this Convention or within thirty days from the date when such citizens become liable to military service in accordance with Article I, provided that the applications be made or the certificates be granted prior to their entry into the military service of either country. Such certificates may be special or general, temporary or conditional, and may be modified, renewed, or revoked, in the discretion of the Government granting them. Persons holding such certificates shall, so long as the certificates are in force, not be liable to military service in the country in which they are.

ARTICLE IV

The Government of the United States and the Italian Government will, respectively, so far as possible, facilitate the return of citizens of Italy and of the United States who may desire to return to their own country for military service, but shall not be responsible for providing transport or the cost of transport for such persons.

ARTICLE V

No citizen of either country who, under the provisions of this Convention, enters the military service of the other shall, by reason of such service, be considered, after this Convention shall have expired or after his discharge, to have lost his nationality or to be under any allegiance to the United States or to His Majesty the King of Italy, as the case may be.

ARTICLE VI

This agreement while in force holds in abeyance any provisions inconsistent therewith, in the treaty of February 26, 1871, or in any other treaty between the United States and Italy.

ARTICLE VII

The present Convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States of America, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by His Majesty the King of Italy, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at Rome as soon as possible. It shall come into operation on the date on which the ratifications are exchanged and shall remain in force until the expiration of sixty days after either of the contracting parties shall have given notice of termination to the other; whereupon any citizen of either country incorporated into the military service of the other under this Convention shall be, as soon as possible, discharged therefrom.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington the twenty-fourth day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen.

[SEAL.]

ROBERT LANSING.

[SEAL.]

MACCHI DI CELLERE.